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SOME PASSAGES

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Sir R. Manningham's

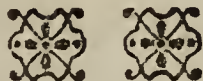
DIARY

LATELY PUBLISH'D.

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By J. DOUGLAS, M. D.  
*a man Midwife in Bow Lane. See Note in*  
*Popes Dunciad.. Book IV. 393.*

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L O N D O N:

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ADVERTISING

SOME OF THE

Sir R. Mansfield's

DIARY

Twelve Volumes

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By J. Mansfield, Esq.

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# REMARKS

O N

SOME PASSAGES

In Sir R. MANNINGHAM'S

## DIARY, &c.



Am oblig'd to Sir *Richard Manningham*, for the Justice he has done me in his Diary lately publish'd, by owning, p. 20. that when he talk'd to me of the Affair of *Mary Tofts*, I told  
 B him,



him, in a peremptory Manner, that it must be a Cheat; and likewise, p. 32. that I assisted him in persuading and preparing that unhappy Woman to make a Discovery of the Truth. But as from some other Passages of his Book, especially Two or Three Expressions related by him as mine, People may be led to believe, that, for some Time at least, I was of the same Opinion of which he has candidly enough acknowledged himself to have been; I think it incumbent on me, in the same publick Manner, to give a short Account of my Behaviour, especially such Parts of it as have been, or may be, excepted against, since I first heard of this

this extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits.

I begin by declaring it to have been always my firm Opinion, that this Report was false; in the First Place, because I never could conceive the Generation of a perfect Rabbit in the *Uterus* of a Woman to be possible, it being contradictory to all that is hitherto known, both from Reason and Experience, concerning the ordinary, as well as extraordinary Procedure of Nature, in the Formation of a *Fætus*: And, in the next Place, because I never could conceive it practicable, that any such Substances, as were talk'd of, should be

thrust up, through the narrow Neck, into the Cavity of that Organ; that being repugnant to the Structure of the Part so well known from Anatomy. These I gave openly, as my Sentiments of the Matter, in all Companies where I had Occasion to mention it, while the Woman remain'd at *Guilford*, notwithstanding the repeated Confirmations of it, by new and specious Appearances of Facts, with which the Town was every Day alarm'd.

But from the Time that the Woman was brought to the *Bagnio*, in *Leicester-Fields*, I did not so publickly and frequently  
talk



talk against the Imposture, as I had before done; nor rail at those who suffer'd themselves to be impos'd on, with all that Ill-Nature and Noise with which some others continu'd to do.

On *Wednesday* the 30th of *November*, about One o'Clock in the Morning, I receiv'd the following Letter from Mr. *St. Andrè*.

S I R,

**I** Have brought the Woman from Guilford to the Bagnio in Leicester-Fields. She has now a live Rabbit in her, and I expect shortly a Delivery; you will

*will infinitely oblige me to deliver her yourself. Mr. Amiand is already here.*

I am, &c.

Leicester-Fields, Nov.

29, 1726, 12 o'Clock  
at Night.

ST. ANDRÈ.

I went immediately to the *Bagnio*, where, besides Mr. Sergeant *Amyand* and Mr. *St. Andrie*, I found a good Number of Gentlemen more. Having examin'd the Woman, at Mr. *St. Andrè's* Request, and ask'd her what Questions I thought proper, he desir'd me to deliver my Opinion to the Company ; which I did in these or the like Words :

“ That



Sr. (from Sloane mss. 4062 .p. 255. Br.d.mus)

I have brought the woman from Guildford  
to the Bagno in Leiceister fields. Where you  
may if you please have the opportunity of  
seeing her deliver'd. I am

Sir

Wednesday morning  
(30. Nov. 1726)

Your Humble Servt.

St Andre

To Sir Hans Sloane in  
Bloomsbury Square.



“ That there was nothing in  
 “ the *Vagina*, nor, as I believ’d,  
 “ in the *Uterus* of that Woman;  
 “ that the Motions of her Belly  
 “ were very different from those  
 “ caus’d by a Child, or any other  
 “ living Animal; and therefore  
 “ were probably Hyſterick, or  
 “ only Convulſive Contractions  
 “ of the Muſcles of the *Abdo-*  
 “ *men*; and that the Moiſture  
 “ which ſhe ſqueez’d out of her  
 “ Nipples, was not really Milk.”

That there was nothing in  
 the *Vagina*, Mr. *St. Andrè* own-  
 ed, ſtrenuouſly denying all I  
 had ſaid beſides: But as I did  
 not go there to diſpute, the  
 Converſation became general,  
 and chang’d to ſomething elſe.



A little while afterwards, Mr. *St. André* told me, that tho' he had given me his Word, in his Letter, that I should deliver the Woman; nevertheless, as it was agreeable to his Majesty's Pleasure that he should carry Sir *Richard Manningham* down with him to *Guilford*, he must beg so far to be excus'd from his Promise, as that I would allow this Gentleman to perform that Office first, assuring me withal, that as the Rabbits were always brought away in Pieces, I should soon have a full Opportunity of being satisfy'd of the Truth.

I answer'd, That it was perfectly indifferent to me, whether

ther I deliver'd her first or last ; only I begg'd these Two Conditions might be agreed to, neither of which, as I conceiv'd, could be reckon'd an Incroachment on the Privilege he now claim'd for Sir *Richard*.

First, that before any thing was brought away, I might be allow'd to feel it while in the *Cervix Uteri* before it passed thro' the *Os Tincæ* ; because, by any thing less than that, it would be in vain for him to endeavour to convince me that it really came from the *Uterus*.

Secondly, That Mr. *Cheselden* might be sent for, and Mr. *Amyand* and he be allow'd the  
C same



same Liberty which I ask'd for myself.

Both Sir *Richard* and Mr. *St. André* accepted these Conditions; but it was not without some Difficulty that I could persuade them to call in Mr. *Cheselden*. I likewise, afterwards, propos'd that more *Accoucheurs*, Surgeons and Physicians too, than they had upon their List, might be desir'd to attend; but this I could not prevail with them to grant, till it was too late. About Ten o'Clock, Mr. *Cheselden* came; and, among other Things, ask'd Mr. *Howard* several Questions, which, however much to the Purpose, I took the Liberty to tell him, I thought not at all proper



proper at that Time : The Reason I then gave him, I shall have Occasion to mention in another Place.

On *Thursday, December 1.*  
 The Leaping of the Rabbit, as it was call'd, ceas'd, and the Woman was taken with Pains, in which all the Appearances of those by which a true Labour usually begins, were very exactly counterfeited ; and I then publickly said, that from any thing in these Pains consider'd in themselves only, I was not able to distinguish them from such ; for there was certainly a very great forcing down of the *Uterus*, and *Vesica Urinaria*, with a Fullness and Constriction of the *Vagina*, occasion'd by

C 2                      holding

holding in her Breath, and straining down with Violence; but I never perceiv'd them to be accompanied with any Opening of the *Osculum Uteri*, or Pains in the Back and Belly; neither did they go off after the Manner of true Pains.

That same Day several Persons of great Distinction and Worth did me the Honour to ask me what had pass'd: I told them in general Terms, that no Delivery had as yet happen'd; that Mr. *St. Andrè* and Mr. *Howard* still expected one very suddenly; and that I would not fail to give them Notice upon the first Appearances of any thing that look'd like it.

Mr.



Mr. *St. André* having shew'd me the Proof Sheets of his Narrative, which I read over in some Hurry, I told him, that to me it appear'd to contain nothing but a Collection of Impossibilities ; particularly that what he said about the Formation of these Animals in the *Fallopian* Tubes, and their passing through the narrow Endings thereof, into the Cavity of the *Uterus*, in so short a Time, was equally repugnant to the Structure of these Parts, and to universal Experience ; for that, in all *Tubarian* Conceptions, of which only Two had occur'd to me in Twenty Seven Years Practice of Midwifery, the *Fætus* forces its Way through



through the Tubes, not into the *Uterus*, but into the Cavity of the *Abdomen*, and there soon kills the Patient. I added further, That the Noise of snapping and breaking of the Bones, which he talk'd of, must certainly be a Romance, notwithstanding the Number of the Witnesses he appeal'd to; and that for this plain Reason, among many others, because it is impossible that such a Noise should ever be heard. He made answer, by assuring me, in a very positive Manner, that I should soon hear it myself.

On *Friday*, Mr. Sergeant *Amyand* desir'd me to go and see the Rabbits, which Mr. *Ablers* had brought

brought some Days before from *Guilford*; but I excus'd myself, by telling him that I thought such Enquiries were improper at that Time, for the same Reason which I had before given Mr. *Cheselden*. But the most remarkable Thing that occur'd to me that Day, was, that having desired to visit the Woman, I was denied Admittance, Mr. *St. André* and Mr. *Howard* being both abroad. I told several Gentlemen, then at the *Bagnio*, that I was afraid some *new Monster* was breeding; and went away with a Resolution to return no more.

On *Saturday* Afternoon, Mr. *St. André*, who had not only  
sent



sent me a Letter the Night before, but dispatch'd Two Messengers to me that Morning, and left another Letter for me at Noon, came himself to my House, and begg'd very earnestly that I would go and attend but a little while longer, or promise to come whenever he should send me Word; adding withal, that if he could but once satisfy me about the Reality of the Thing, he did not care who else disbeliev'd it. These pressing Sollicitations prevail'd on me to change my former Resolutions; but during all the Time I staid, the Woman was without any Appearance of Pain, and nothing extraordinary happen'd to her. However, I reckon'd my Attendance very well rewarded



rewarded by an Incident that fell out in the Evening, which serv'd to usher in the Discovery of the whole Imposture, an Information being given to the Right Hon. the Lords *Albemarle* and *Limerick*, by a Servant of the Bagnio, that the Woman had employ'd him to procure her a Rabbit clandestinely: My Lord *Limerick* did me the Honour to desire I would be present, and Sir *Richard Manningham* wrote down the Information. It was not, however, thought convenient to divulge this Piece of News, till next Day, that more effectual Measures might be taken to come at the whole Truth.

On *Sunday* Morning I was very much surpriz'd to find a sensible Swelling and Fullness a little above the *Os Pubis*, which I thought I could circumscribe with my Fingers. Several Gentlemen perceiv'd and examin'd it likewise, but none of us knew, at that Time, to what Cause it was to be ascrib'd : But as it quite disappear'd before the Afternoon, I then judg'd it to have proceeded from some flatulent Humours collected and pent up in the lower Part of the *Abdomen*.

Between Three and Four o' Clock in the Afternoon the  
Woman



Woman fell again into Pains, but not near so violent as those she had on the *Wednesday* before. Mr. *St. André* and Mr. *Howard* very confidently assured us that these were the Fore-runners of Labour, which they expected would follow in a very little Time. Sir *Richard Manningham* being present, all I had to do was to desire him and Mr. *St. André* to remember their Promise; but the Pains soon went off, without any farther Appearance of what they expected.

The Servant at the *Bagnio* made Oath this Evening of all he had inform'd us of the Night before; and as from that Time



the Affair came under the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate, the Sequel of it is foreign to the Design of this Relation ; wherein I have taken Care not to omit the least Circumstance, from which it may, with any Colour of Probability, be inferr'd, that I ever so much as suspected that the Story of this Woman's breeding, and being deliver'd of Rabbits, might have any real Foundation.

I come, in the next Place, with the same Freedom and Sincerity, to offer the Reasons and Motives of my Behaviour, by which I hope fully to evince that as upon the first News I heard of this Affair, I was firmly

ly

(from Sloane mss. 4054. p. 253. Brit. Mus.)

Sir,

The report of a Womans breeding of Rabbits has almost alarm'd England and in a manner perswaded severall people of sound Judgm<sup>t</sup>: of that truth; I have been at some pains to discover the affair, and think I have conquer'd my point as you will see by the depositions taken before me, which shall be published in a day or two. I am

Sir-

J. Hum. Servant

Oxslow.

Clandon Decm. 4. 1726.

To Sir Hans Sloane, to be left at the Grecian  
Coffee House in Devereux Court near Temple Bar London.





ly persuaded the whole was a Trick ; so no Part of my Conduct, after the Woman was brought to Town, can have given any just Ground for imagining that I either really did, or was ever inclin'd to change my Opinion.

In general, therefore, I desire it may be observ'd, That even the greatest Sticklers for the Reality of this wonderful *Phænomenon*, did not pretend that it was, in any Respect, confirm'd by new Proofs, after the Woman came hither ; if I had chang'd my Opinion, therefore, it must have been upon no Manner of Foundation.

Further,

Further, from what I observ'd myself, in examining the Woman, during my close Attendance on her, and in comparing every Day's Experience with the positive Assurances of a Delivery, constantly given us by Mr. *St. Andrè* and Mr. *Howard*, I must have concluded the Credibility of the whole to be in a declining Condition; and this Conclusion could not but be very much strengthened by the positive Appearances of Fraud, some of which I have mentioned, chusing, for the Sake of others, to pass over the rest. If in this State of Things,  
any

any Body can believe I changed my Opinion, he must suppose me capable not only of doing it without Grounds, but in spite of all the Proofs of that which I first entertain'd, that the Nature of the Thing would allow of, till the whole Discovery of the Imposture was made.

But without insisting any longer on these, however strong Presumptions in my Favour, I go on to the exceptionable Part of my Conduct. And first, The Reservedness of my Behaviour, in not talking with the same Openness and Freedom against the Cheat as I did at first; which, how  
it



it came ever to be made an Argument either of my Ignorance or Credulity, is to me a very great Mystery; and, I believe, must be so to every thinking Person, who considers the Situation I was in.

For, in the first Place, as it was of the utmost Consequence that the whole Truth of this Affair should be detected, because of the bad Effects with which it might otherwise have been attended; so I may without Vanity affirm, that the Town seem'd to repose some Confidence in what should be my Determination.

To

To be able to determine, to the Satisfaction and Conviction of all Sorts of Persons, other Arguments were necessary, than Anatomy, or any other Branch of Physick, could furnish. Of these the greatest Number are not Judges. It was therefore undoubtedly very natural for me to desire that People would suspend any farther Judgment for a little Time, till such Proofs could be brought of the Imposture as they requir'd ; and as I was assured, from the Two Reasons already mention'd in the Beginning of this Relation, and other Circumstances that occur'd every Day, I should soon be able to bring, or,

E                      which



which was the same Thing, to assist others in bringing; being resolv'd to spare no Pains nor Attendance in discovering the past Frauds, as well as in preventing new Impositions. This was the principal End I propos'd to myself in all I did, and not my own Satisfaction, in a Thing which from the Beginning I believ'd to be so far impossible, as that had I not, with good Reason, apprehended the fatal Tendency of it to the weaker Sex especially, I very much question whether ever I should have spent any more Time in enquiring about it, than about any other Piece of News which engrosses the Conversation of the Town.

Again,



Again, it has but too plainly appear'd, from all that has happen'd in this Affair, how deeply the Reputation of several Persons was engag'd in it, even from the Beginning: Mr. *Howard* and Mr. *St. André* were of this Number. Of the first of whom I had heard a very advantageous Character; the second, tho' a most ingenious Anatomist, I all along believ'd to be impos'd upon; and both of them seem'd extreamly desirous that the Thing should be brought to a fair Trial, at which I could not help expressing my Surprise and Amazement oftener than once. This I judg'd not only to require of me the utmost Caution and Circumspection; which,

E 2                      where

where People's Reputation and Bread are concern'd, can hardly ever be too great; but it likewise inclin'd me to allow them, as far as it was in my Power, both Time and Opportunity, first of undeceiving themselves, and then of making some Atonement to the World for their past Behaviour, in the Manner they should have thought most proper.

As these were the general Views that led me into this Affair at first, so they serv'd to conduct me in every Step of my Proceedings; and will at first Sight justify every Expression, and every Action of mine, thro' the whole Course of my Attendance;



dance; the sole Design of which was to come at a speedy Discovery of the Imposture, by plain, sensible, and undeniable Facts, of which all the World might be Judges, and not Physicians and Anatomists only, who were capable of determining the Matter upon other Principles. With this View, and with this View only, it was, that upon my first going to the Bagnio, I began by making such Terms with those more immediately concern'd, as I thought were most likely to put the whole Affair upon the shortest and surest Issue, and that I again reminded them of our Agreements, at Times when I found them most positive that some extraordinary Event was  
to



to happen. Neither could I have any other Motive for the Caution I presum'd to give some of my very good Friends, unquestionable Judges in such Matters, and equally convinc'd of the Fraud with myself, not to trouble themselves, nor divert me at that Time, by entering upon Anatomical Discussions, which I was of Opinion would still leave Room for Cavils, Replies and Misapprehensions, and at best could end in nothing more than what we all already knew. But especially I thought it improper that Mr. *Howard* should be ask'd too many Questions, which he being unable to answer, the Effect of them must be only to puzzle and confound,

not

not to convince him; and there-upon, perhaps, incline him to take some sudden Resolutions, which would rather have obstructed than forwarded us in making the Discovery, in the Way I all along wanted it to be made.

In this Manner are all the other Facts I have set down to be judg'd of; neither do they suffer any Difficulty, after what has been said, except in as far as they have been misrepresented. This brings me to Sir *Richard Manningham's* Diary which obliges me to trouble the Publick at this Time.

In



In p. 21. I am said to have been of Opinion, that the Pains which the Woman had upon her at the Time he talks of, *were of the same Nature with Labour Pains*; without the Addition of any Restriction. But I am very positive that I never us'd that Expression (if I us'd it at all) in any other Manner than I have above related; neither were more particular Explanations to be expected from me at that Time, the Company then present being a very unsuitable Audience for a Lecture in Midwifery. But even this is not the worst Sense in which my Words have been misconstru'd; for Mr. *Howard*, who pretended

to



to have been present at her former Deliveries, having made Answer to what I said, that the same Sort of Pains always preceded these; some busy People, either out of Ignorance or Malice, by joining my Words and his Answer together, have made me represent her as actually going into Labour, a Thing I never said, nor ever Imagin'd.

P. 23. I am said to have apprehended that the Swelling which I perceiv'd on *Sunday Morning*, was in the Cavity of the Uterus, by which, if he means that I apprehended it to proceed from any Animal, or Part of an Animal, either formed or lodged in that Cavity,

F

I can

I can very positively assert, that I was fully convinc'd of the contrary, and never express'd any thing like it.

P. 24. I am said to have agreed with the other Physicians, &c. then present, in apprehending *that something would soon issue from the Uterus*. Whether these Gentlemen either did apprehend, or said they apprehended any such Thing, I leave it to them to determine; but that I agreed with them in these Apprehensions, I utterly deny. It may indeed be true, that being then so much us'd to Mr. *St. André's* and Mr. *Howard's* positive Way of talking about every thing that related to this Woman, I  
did



did not immediately express my Dissent to what they said (to the Reason of which Behaviour I hope the Reader is by this Time no Stranger) and from thence, together with my having put him in Mind of his Promise, I imagine he has concluded that I was of the same Opinion with them. If this be not the Case, his Memory must have fail'd him, or he has mistaken the Voice of some other Person then in the Room for mine; for I cannot believe him capable of using any unfair Means, to have the *Latin* Proverb on his Side.



To conclude, If, notwithstanding this fair and open Representation of my Conduct, and of the Motives I was influenc'd by in every Step of it, any Expression or Action of mine should still continue to be constru'd to my Prejudice, by Persons who think the best Way of establishing their own Character is by preying upon those who have some to lose; all the Justice I have further to beg of the impartial World, is, that other People's Words may not be mistaken for, nor confounded with mine, nor Conclusions ascrib'd to me, which the Malice of some may make them ingenious enough to draw from what I either have said in  
a Hurry,

a Hurry, in a ludicrous Manner, or at Times and Places where I did not think it convenient to come to more particular Explications. If this be granted me, as I doubt not but it will, by all whose Opinion of me it is worth my while to regard, I shall have no farther Occasion to trouble the Publick about the Affair of *Mary Tofts*, till I have finish'd the Considerations advertiz'd by me some Time ago; in which I shall fully evince, from what may be certainly known concerning the Theory of Generation, from the Principles and Practice of Midwifery, from the Structure of the Uterine Parts in a Woman, and from the Appearances  
of



of the Rabbits themselves, that such a Delivery was impossible. In the mean Time, I hope all breeding Women will depend on this as a certain Truth, that it is no less probable, that a Rabbit should conceive and be deliver'd of a Human Child, than that any Creature whatever, of an intirely different Species, should be form'd in the Belly of a Woman.

*London, Dec.*

16. 1726.

*Ja. Douglas.*